1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

songs. His nephew went to stand behind him; his son went forward to stand at the left shoulder of his cousin. These two boys joined in the singing, repeating Landaeta's song stanza after stanza. A few women, led by Landaeta's wife and daughter, went to stand at his right side, and joined the boys in answering the songs of the shaman. They stood there in front of the pole singing until the Southern Cross hung high in the sky. Then Landaeta's wife took a gourd rattle from the basket and gave it to her husband, who immediately began to shake it, its liquid tone blending harmoniously with the voices. The singers became more animated when they heard the rattle, and soon they began to dance, jerking the body forward and backward, rhythmically and in unison. At times Landaeta would shake his rattle violently and his voice would betray his deep excitement. His wife from time to time would give a lighted cigarette to him, holding it to his mouth until it was consumed. At midnight the shaking of the rattle became more frequent and more violent, and finally, in the middle of one song, everyone began to move around the pole. The women put their right hands on the shoulder of the one ahead, and soon were running and stamping the right foot as they did so. The men formed an inner circle, dancing one behind the other. At the end of each song they paused for a moment lined up in their original positions. As the night wore on, both singing and dancing became more and more animated until the shaman appeared to be in a frenzy. His voice rose in pitch, his rhythm was faster, and more strongly accentuated, and all sang with greater feeling. The shaman danced in jerky movements, bending and twisting his body, half spinning about, first one way then the other, until he seemed to be quivering all over. The dance around the pole became almost a mad run, made more difficult by the soft sands and the complex movements of the body. The men would leap high and as the right foot was stamped in unison, a resonant beat was produced that seemed to blend with the pulsating roar of the howlers brought to us by the wind, and marked off by the rich rattling of the gourd and the choral singing. In the morning hours the wind rose again, blew more violently, and the roar of the monkeys became stronger, and the Yaruros sang passionately. It was then, when the morning star was already high, and dawn lighted the eastern horizon, that they stopped.

The sun awoke me, and though I had slept barely two hours I felt quite refreshed. I sat up to look about me. There was the vast stretch of sand, the fringe of jungle, and the sparkling river. My Yaruros were sleeping half buried in the sand, behind basketry to shelter themselves from the wind. The vultures were already at the piles of refuse, feasting on crocodiles and turtles. Soon the sun awoke my friends, and they too sat up to gaze quietly at the western sky where they believe their gods live.

1: Petrullo 5-3 (1933-36) 1939 S519 Yaruro S519

791 ordinary citizen, receiving no compensation except the respect given
787 to an old man and a moral teacher. In the second place, shamanism
157 is a lifetime activity, and it would seem improbable that one would create such a life for himself which he would have to live until death if he were not suited to it. I saw cases of men who were striving to be shamans, some young and some old, with great regret admitting that they could not see the religious visions that others more successful had seen. In a primitive society such as that of the Yaruros, where life values are simple and evident to every one, where the intimacy existing between its members is thorough, there is very little incentive and very little opportunity for pretense.

791 Landaeta, my chief informant among the shamans, claimed that
787 he did not remember the specific events that he "dreams" when he
115 sang and that he could not sing during the day, nor could he remember the songs. He himself had to be told by the others what happened during a shamanistic performance. Thus he could tell me neither the words nor the tunes. I had to wait for another performance to try to take down both. Since the words were conversations between the shaman and the spirit forces, and thus varied at each performance, he was right. Yet there is a musical pattern and undoubtedly a word pattern also.

791 In the matter of making the sacred objects, he claimed that only
787 those who have "dreamed", have had religious experience, can make
531 them. Thus he himself was carving the rattles, and claimed that no
778 one else among his people could carve them. Some, like his nephew and son-in-law Juan Garcia, were learning.

791 At Landaeta's death probably the shaman will be either Brigido
787 Tovar, his son, or Juan Garcia, his nephew and son-in-law. Legend
554 favors the son, but Landaeta looks to Garcia. However, it is the son who sang behind the shaman in this case, but Garcia has had religious experiences already.

Landaeta himself claims that he sang behind his uncle for a long time without a moracca. Finally he had a "dream" and he was permitted to use a moracca. This religious experience is absolutely necessary to a future shaman.

791 That the shaman follows certain patterns of song, ritual, dream,
533 and revelation is quite certain, and it is these patterns that are trans-
787 mitted to the neophyte. Both dreams and revelations always have some bearing on current problems, and in fact attempt to solve these problems.

During a shamanistic performance the first songs describe the journey of the shaman's soul to the Land of Kuma. Upon reaching the desired land the shaman shakes his rattle violently and the songs

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781 RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE--emotional reactions experienced in religious behavior (e.g., oppressive fear of malevolent higher powers, overwhelming awe of divine might, luxurious sense of dependence upon a benevolent and all-knowing superior, reassuring feeling of security through conformity, prideful conviction of right, grateful release from the burdens of a guilty conscience, groveling humility of self-abnegation, ecstatic release of mysterious inner powers, mystic sense of identification with or absorption in the divine essence, esthetic thrill in religious art, music, or ceremonial); evidence as to the predominant type or types of religious experience in the particular society; emotional needs satisfied through religious behavior; etc. See also:

Personality 15
Fine arts 53
Esthetic ideals 517
Ethical ideals 577
Conceptions of emotions 828

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 :S519 Yaruro S519

formations held a deep fascination for them. I understood but little of it, for their Spanish was too broken, and I was unfamiliar with Yaruro. So we spent the evening in quiet conversation and amity, conscious of the soft voices of the women in the background, children, laughter, and always the throbbing roar of the distant bands of howlers which was brought to us by the wind. To the Yaruros the howlers were formerly men.

Landaeta relayed to me questions uppermost in his wife's mind. Did I have a wife in my own country? Did I have any children? Why had they not come with me? Once in Brazil I had been asked similar questions by another naked primitive fold, and I had answered truthfully that I had neither wife nor children. I remember their confusion and amazement. In their eyes I was a great man, and therefore I should have had many wives and many children. It is certain that they really never believed or understood my answer. So, in this case, not wanting to make extensive explanations about our civilization, which not only does not insist that men and women marry, but even makes it very difficult for them to do so, I lied, answering that I was married and had one son. Of course I had to describe both wife and boy to the inquisitive women. They wanted to know if her skin was the same color as mine, and her hair as white as mine, and what did she wear on her body? Also, they made me promise that some day I would bring my wife and boy to them, so that the women who, because of social taboos, could not converse directly with me, would be able to do so with my wife.

As we talked of these things, falling stars played in the heavens, "messengers of Kuma" according to the Yaruros, the big dipper swung higher, and the southern crosses began their journeys. For a while the wind died down, and the monkeys were heard no more. Always responsive to the world in which they live, the Yaruros became silent and still. And then, as the moon rose above the hills of Guiana, Landaeta disappeared in the darkness to return later and begin his singing.

Unlike our own religious ceremonies, there was no attempt at creating artificial seriousness. The children played about noisily under the very nose of the shaman without reproof, and the adults talked happily. The imminent communion with the gods was an event of festive proportions and no restraints were put on normal and natural behavior before joyous events.

There was no dancing on this night, in deference to me, for I could not participate in it, but we sat in a semicircle and sang after the shaman.

Itciai arrived and I was helped to sit close to the shaman. Apparently Itciai was talking about me, referred to as "the Man." I lighted a cigarette and held it to the shaman's mouth. Without interrup-

1: Petrillo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

787 tion of the song it was smoked in the shamanistic manner, or rather
791 spirit style, and Itciai began to explain who I was. He said that he knew me well, that I had visited Kuma's land many times, that I was a shaman; that my family was well, that my wife was waiting for me, and that my son was so anxious he began to fear that I was dead. He said that there was something big being saved for me in my country. I was a good man, and a man like the Yaruros; that he was glad I liked the Yaruros so much, and that he was glad I was living with them. I had nothing to fear, since on my death I would go to Kuma land. Itciai was saving for me a beautiful large horse to ride in the land of the gods.

During this long discourse about me from Itciai, which lasted about one hour and which was translated to me only in fragmentary fashion, the shaman often, at the beginning of a new thought, would shake the rattle violently before my face, and continue the same frenzied tone and shaking throughout. The people sang lustily, with feeling likewise, a great compliment to me.

[185] Itciai[1] had something to say about the Yaruros in general, namely, that they were doomed to die, but that a better world and life awaits them with Kuma. They will have houses and cattle, clothing, tobacco, and all food; they will be born again there, young and strong. This world will come to an end because the Yaruros are being killed off.

Later Hatchawa[1] came. I had a cigarette ready for him. He appreciated it and asked the shaman why I didn't drink of the shaman's drink. He urged me to drink it. I was a Yaruro. He also acknowledged my acquaintance in my own country and in Kuma's, and expressed deep affection for me. He brought good news of my family, saying to hurry back to my wife since she had been waiting for me with much love for a long time. He got another cigarette and I was embraced several times.

The next to come was the father of one of the Yaruro men, and as soon as I heard of it I offered a cigarette. It was properly acknowledged and the people were told by the spirit that indeed I knew a great deal, since I had cigarettes ready to greet the spirits. At about 3 o'clock in the morning came the god Puaná, expressly to greet me. He said that I lived in another land which he himself had made and that he was glad I had come to visit this land. He received three or four cigarettes. He described my land as being like that of Kuma, high and beautiful. He gave me further news of my family and said that he was keeping for me much cattle and many horses in the land of Kuma.

• 781 Puaná[1] was greeted with happy laughter and general approval, the reception as demonstrated by the quality of the frenzied singing.

1[Itciai and Puaná are creator-gods; Hatchawa is the fire-giver ..... Analyst]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

781 Puaná stayed with us for about an hour and a half, talking most of the time about me.

787 And finally at about 5 o'clock Kuma herself came to visit me and, like Hatchawa, urged me to drink of the shaman's drink. I had to
791 drink a gourd full of it, since it was held to my lips until I finished it. She gave me messages similar to the others. Finally other Yarures came, and the shaman eventually returned, being greeted with affection by all. We stopped when the sun rose and began another day of primitive life. We had danced and sung almost continuously for 36 hours.

This was my reception among the Yaruros after my return from La Urbana. We talked day and night about religion, and about
606 the world in which we lived. I learned that a mother-in-law and
582 son-in-law must never look upon each other and never talk to each
604 other, though they must be careful to do each other service; that a man must marry his first cousin, and that socially he is under obligation to his maternal uncle who later becomes his father-in-law. Under Landaeta's tutelage the material in this report was compiled. In a sense, therefore, this is his report.

124 One day I announced to Landaeta that I would have to leave in the
123 near future, giving as a reason that my wife and child needed me at home. Actually, there were other considerations; my physical condition was becoming worse, though the sores on my feet were a little better; and for the time being I had quietly exhausted the possibilities of obtaining fresh material from my friends. After all, we had been in contact with each other for six weeks, the major portion of it living communely and conversing with the shaman continuously day after day, sometimes even from sunrise to sunrise. My daily schedule consisted of rising at sunrise, drinking a little coffee sometimes brought to me by Landaeta, and immediately plunging into discussions of religious themes. This would last up to about 10 o'clock when Landaeta would withdraw and busy himself making string or carving gourds for several hours. During this period I would seek clarification of some points from whomsoever was present, or work on social organization, or on genealogy. In the early afternoon Landaeta would be back with new material, new ideas, having thought over what he had said, what I had said, and what still needed to be said. This would continue until sundown.

521 Then there was a short intermission for dinner, but soon afterwards I was hurried over to the eastern edge of the camp, where Landaeta and his people sat after dinner, and there we would sit while the women made cigars for us, talking about mythology, religion and general philosophical concepts. These discussions would last until 10 or 11 o'clock, and often much later, and not rarely shamanistic

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 S519 Yaruro S519

culture or themselves against a superior culture and ruthless "civilized" bandits. Their only consolation is Kuma and the Land of Kuma.

Nevertheless, being realists they not only continue their daily activities of hunting and gathering foods, but also in finding daily solace through their environment and the shamanistic contact with Kuma. The Yaruro is nature conscious. Perhaps his lonely existence has made him ecstatically responsible to the world about him, for often they talked of the beauty of various phenomena; but stronger than any such feeling is their sense of intimate relationship with the sun, the moon, the stars, their animal life. The falling stars at night are interpreted by them to be messengers sent by Kuma to encourage her people, the Yaruros; the moon is friendly, and on moonless nights the stars represent the crowds of their ancestors who live with Kuma. The wind blows incessantly and it blows to them the roar of the araguatos (the howlers), which, to them, represent distant relatives once human beings, but changed into monkeys by life in the trees at the time of the great flood; the toninos, frolicking at night in the water, are also another race who failed to climb the rope which Hatchawa let down to bring his people to the surface. It is in such a friendly world that the Yaruro literally sits, listens, and looks, almost communing with his environment. Perhaps it is not out of place to mention at this point that this reaction on the part of the Yaruros is not difficult to understand, that perhaps we ought not to rationalize this attitude of the Yaruro entirely on the basis of superstition or religious ideas; anyone who has lived on the plains, exposed day and night to nature, soon loses any feeling of lonesomeness. This response on the part of the Yaruros is shared by the llaneros, who do not seem to be so perfectly at ease as when they are alone in the plains.

THE YARURO UNIVERSE

According to the Yaruros the world has experienced a series of metamorphoses. Some of the events which have transformed the world from its original form are attributed to the direct intervention of the various gods and races of mankind, but others remain unexplainable.

How much of Yaruro cosmic ideas have been borrowed from the missionaries it is difficult to say at this point. Missionaries have been among them from time to time but the Yaruros have been abandoned so completely so many times that the result and confusion is difficult if not impossible to unravel—a thing which can be done only when we have thorough descriptive studies of the various tribes of the Columbian plains and the tribes of Guiana. The comparative ma-

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

781 Of great importance is the fact that the Yaruros live in a world which they understand perfectly. At night they watch the heavens for signs from their gods. Each night they read a new chapter in a great story book. During the day the winds, the skies, the sun, have much to tell them, and they watch and listen eagerly. Their world is not one of fear but one which, as created by Kuma, is excessively friendly and hopeful. Terror has been introduced by the white man.

771 For every species of plant and animal life a gigantic counterpart exists in the Land of Kuma. Originally the plants and animals, which have been domesticated by the white man, were given to the Yaruros, but the size of the horse and cattle frightened the Yaruros so much that they refused to mount one or tame the other. The white man seized the opportunity which has since made him master of the Yaruro country. However, they have no explanation for the superiority of the white race except sheer wickedness. This superiority is so startling sometimes that the Yaruros feel that the white man in some way must be closely affiliated with gods, good or bad. The appearance of the white man on the plains of Apure is a legendary event. A white man, the Yaruros say, appeared on a huge horse. He was covered with foul sores and destroyed everything in his path. The Yaruros are content to hunt and cultivate the soil. The result is that the civilized peoples raise crops, store them, but the Yaruros are condemned to wander about hunting for a daily dinner.

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825 Many of the animal species, natural formations and constellations are to the Yaruros metamorphosed races of man. One explanation for the monkeys, especially the araguatos (the howlers), is that they are the descendants of a group of people who, to save themselves, climbed to the top of a tree during the time of the flood. The caymans represent another race of men who failed to take advantage of Hatchawa's rope to be lifted out of the hole in the ground. The toninos also are a race of metamorphosed humans.

182 773 The Yaruro, according to their conception of mankind, were Kuma's chosen people. They were created first of all the Indian tribes and that is why they were given the open plains to live in with an open sky overhead so that they might be in close touch with Kuma day and night. The Guahibos, on the other hand, or as the Yaruros called them, the Tciricoi, the forest people, were created last and occupy an inferior position.

776 774 In addition to playing a purely religious role, the gods function as ethical teachers in every shamanistic performance, a function which is shared by the spirits who are close relatives of the living Yaruros. It is they who visit their living descendants and speak through the body of the shaman, correct abuses, scold the evildoers, and praise the good.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

776 [616) strong implication both in the myths and the saying he attends to his people, especially those belonging to the snake moiety, that Puaná is also anthropomorphic. I believe that the conception of the godheads is not quite as clear among the Yaruros as we who attempt to rationalize his beliefs would like it to be. Puaná stands closer to the members of his moiety than does even Kuma. During the shamanistic performances led by Landaeta the singing and dancing were rather sluggish until it was announced by the shaman that Puaná was on his way, and when Puaná reached the shaman's body there was unbounded rejoicing which put fresh spirit into the singing and the dancing. No such enthusiasm was apparent even when Kuma approached. We may contrast the attitude toward Kuma and Puaná as one of respect and one of familiar love.

776 781

HATCHAWA

Hatchawa is the culture hero of the Yaruros. It is he who interceded with Kuma about giving fire to the human race, and it is he who begged Puaná to make a bow which he passed on to his people. He is credited with being the direct instrument and also the means by which the Yaruros have acquired knowledge of hunting. When Hatchawa arrives among the Yaruros during shamanistic performances he is received gladly and thankfully.

ITCIAI

All of the shamans with whom I spoke and whose performances I attended belong to the Puaná clan. They knew little of Itciai and were not interested in telling me much about this rival to Puaná. Itciai seems to be identified with the jaguar, but he is not anthropomorphic. He is given credit for having created the water in the rivers, but, as if they were jealous of even this attribute, my informants said that "Itciai created only the water in the rivers."

FLOOD LEGEND

773 539 After the people were created and had lived on this earth a long time they began to forget to do the right thing. They no longer believed that Kuma is the mother of water and the entire universe and everything that there is in it. So Kuma, in order to show them that she was the creator of the universe and everything therein, caused a rain to begin which continued until everything was covered over with water except a tree on the upper Capanaparo, and the top of a hill. A man and his sister took refuge on the very topmost branches of the tree, and a man with his aunt saved themselves by staying on top of this hill.

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

their attention. The shaman's position as link is emphasized by the fact that his wife invariably sits next to him during the *tonghés* to minister to him and to supply him cigarettes and drink. Thus, the socio-economic link of the household is also the unique link between the sexes in ceremonial life.

The various forms of socio-economic and ceremonial division of the sexes is even more remarkably underscored by the existence of female shamanism. As one might expect, shamanesses behave differently from shamans. Shamanesses sing only in the day-time. They, like Ku'man, sing from hammocks whereas men sing sitting on the ground or dancing. Furthermore, messages trasmitted to them from Ku'man are sent only to them, though the men hear and understand them. The men listen to these messages with care and respect and with the air that there are things to be learned from them which they would otherwise not hear. The shamanesses cannot receive male gods or their messages. Female shaman'sm seems to be an affirmation of the kin-bonds of the matri-centered local group as well as a means of asserting the values and rights pertaining to the women's world. The women's experience ideologically, as well as socially and biologically, is recognized as being systematically distinct from men's experience in life.

Behavior in the *tonghés* is very relaxed. Villagers laugh, joke, sleep, play, get up, walk about. Sometimes persons may even fail to attend if they have chosen to go to work the next day. The only thing explicitly forbidden, because Ku'man would consider it most indelicate, is sexual intercourse. Otherwise, the lack of formalism and freedom of individual behavior so often noted before is again found here.

The importance of the *tonghés* as the foremost way of reinforcing social relations and communal values as well as for curing is seen in several ways. First, when there has been no *tonghé* for several days, one begins to feel and hear a bruiting for *another* tonghé. It is felt that much time has elapsed since the last *tonghé*. Someone asks what's wrong that we haven't had a *tonghé* in so long. Another says we need a *tonghé*. Rumors of *tonghé* begin to be heard. By the fifth or sixth day another *tonghé* is held and community bonds are again reasserted. Again, the sexual division of labor and social life observed in the other- and hither-worlds is systematically carried through into religious observances. We have mentioned the seating of men separate from women and the separate greetings given to the gods. This theme is carried still further in the exclusive women's shamanism and the equally exclusive capacity of men to do curing, either as shamans or as purely private individuals.

The *tonghé* illuminates much about Yaruro ideology. First, shamans both male and female are not considered authorities possessed of special gifts and prerogatives who interpret lore for the entire community. Rather they are considered merely the comunity religious spokesmen for the public expression of community values and for curing, who, by their own choice, enjoy and are willing to undertake the long, arduous work of training and practice. They reaffirm community bonds by repeating in endless verses the precepts and knowledge contained in the Yaruro ideology. All knowledge and all experience is, at least potentially, open to all members of the community and even the private or personal experience of each is made known to all. Any member of